DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 399 068 PS 024 503

AUTHOR Williams, Edith; And Others
TITLE Paternal Involvement in Childrearing and the School Performance of Ojibwa Children: An Exploratory Study.
PUB DATE [96]
NOTE 36p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Child Rearing; *Children; *Chippewa (Tribe); Family (Sociological Unit); *Fathers; Interpersonal Competence; *Parent Child Relationship; Parent Influence; Parent Role; Social Development
IDENTIFIERS Bay Mills Indian Reservation MI; Michigan; Paternal Involvement in Child Care Index

ABSTRACT

Seventeen Ojibwa families were examined to identify: (1) the relationship between quantity and quality of father involvement in childrearing and children's academic and social school performance; and (2) antecedents to father's participation. The sample from Bay Mills Reservation in Michigan, was comprised of families containing 2 adults and a child age 3 to 11. Data collection included parent interviews containing one question about the quantity of time the father was primary caregiver, chosen because of its high correlation to overall scores on Radin's Paternal Involvement in Child Care Index. A shortened Parent Perception Inventory was used to assess quality of care, or nurturance. Children's academic functioning was measured with grades and teacher evaluations. Teachers also completed a Child Behavior Check List to identify overall social adjustment and rated social competence on adaptive traits believed important in most Native American populations. Results showed that a greater amount of time spent by fathers as primary caregivers was associated with higher academic achievement and better adaptive functioning, especially for boys. However, paternal nurturance was associated with poorer academic functioning for the total sample and for boys, and with poorer social performance as indicated on the Native American Adaptive Functioning Index. This discrepancy may be due to fathers' responding to unhappy children, or to Native American nurturance as similar to Baumrind's permissive parenting, which does not encourage success in Anglo schools. Antecedents associated with more paternal involvement included greater participation by the father's father in his upbringing. (Contains 39 references.) (KDFB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

(In Press) Merrill-Palmer Quarterly

ED 399 068

Running Head: Ojibwa Fathers

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Paternal Involvement in Childrearing and the School Performance of Ojibwa Children: An Exploratory Study

Edith Williams

Chicago Read Mental Health Center

Norma Radin

University of Michigan

Kip Coggins

University of Texas at El Paso

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Edith Williams
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Edith Williams, Ph.D., Chicago Read Mental Health Center, Chicago, IL; Norma Radin, Ph.D., School of Social Work, University of Michigan; Kip Coggins, MSW, Social Work Department, University of Texas, El Paso.

This investigation was supported by The University of Michigan Office of the Vice-President. The authors wish to thank Cheryl Samuels, Ted Batt, and Michael Black for their help on various aspects of the research, and express deep appreciation to the Ojibwa families who participated in the study.

Correspondence may be sent to Edith Williams, Director of Social Work, Chicago Read Mental Health Center, 4200 N. Oak Park Ave, Chicago, IL, 60634. Electronic mail may be sent via Internet to ediewms@aol.com.

PS 024503

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Abstract

Ojibwa families (N = 17) were examined to determine the relationship between quantity and quality of father involvement in childrearing and children's academic and social school performance. Antecedents to involvement were also explored. Data analyzed for the whole group and for males showed greater amount of time fathers spent as primary caregivers was associated with higher academic achievement and better social development, almost exclusively for boys. Paternal nurturance was associated with poor academic functioning for the total group and for boys, possibly because of problems created by the anglo-dominated school the children attended. Antecedents associated with more paternal involvement included greater participation by father's father in his upbringing suggesting a modeling paradigm in keeping with Native American respect for elders.

Although the fatherhood literature spans more than two decades (Gottfried, Gottfried, & Bathurst, 1988; Hoffman, 1989; Parke & Swain, 1975; Radin, 1982a), little of the knowledge amassed thus far pertains to Native American families. To begin to understand these families, this exploratory study focused on a rural community of Ojibwa families, a population whose parent-child relationships have not been investigated previously.

The first objective was to assess the relationship between quantity and quality of Ojibwa fathers' involvement in childrearing and their elementary school children's academic and social functioning. There is an accumulating body of work suggesting that fathers have significant influence, particularly for sons, on child development in the domains of cognitive development (Gottfried et al., 1988; Hoffman, 1989; Radin, 1982a) and social competence (Austin & Braeger, 1990; Forehand & Nousiainen, 1993; Gottfried et al., 1988; Kromelow, Harding, & Touris, 1990; Parke & Swain, 1975; Radin, 1986). According to social learning theory, children's cognitive development is facilitated by fathers who are available and nurturant (Bandura, 1986). Children learn by observing their fathers and modeling their problem-solving strategies, vocabulary, and other behaviors. As academic grades and teacher ratings of children's school performance are related to cognitive development, they have been used as proxies for intellectual functioning (Andersson, Kihlblom, & Sandqvist, 1993).

As an example, third grade boys whose fathers interacted with them frequently received higher grades in school than boys

whose fathers interacted with them less frequently (Blanchard & Biller, 1971). As for school-age female cognitive development, the data are not as consistent, except in the area of mathematics (Murray & Sandqvist, 1990; Radin, 1981). Studies have also demonstrated an association between paternal nurturance and sons' cognitive development (Radin, 1981; Ziegler, 1980).

Social competence is the second domain in which fathers influence development. As with cognitive competence, role-modeling and identification appear to operate (Austin & Braeger, 1990; Nietfeldt, 1984). For example, teachers rated 4-year old boys from homes with a higher degree of father participation in childcare as better socially adjusted than those from homes with lower levels of paternal participation (Nietfeldt, 1984). The relationship of paternal nurturance to social competence was addressed in an 8-year follow-up study (Pruett & Litzenberger, 1992) of an investigation of primary caregiving fathers in intact families (Pruett, 1989). The children of these nurturant fathers appeared to feel a sense of social competence and were better able to make demands on their social environment (Pruett & Litzenberger, 1992; Radin, 1994).

Baumrind's (1971; 1991) two dimensions of parenting, demandingness and responsiveness, are relevant to the nurturance variable being studied. These dimensions have been shown to contribute to both cognitive and social competence in children, and are thought to underlie four parental behavioral types including authoritative and permissive parenting. According to Baumrind, authoritative parents show balanced levels of high

demandingness and high responsiveness whereas permissive parents express low levels of demandingness and high levels of responsiveness. In Baumrind's study, the children of authoritative parents were more responsible and competent than the children of the other parental types.

The second study objective focused on the antecedents of increased paternal participation and paternal nurturance in childrearing. Both modeling and compensation patterns have emerged in research investigations (Radin, 1981; Snarey, 1993). The modeling paradigm purports that children will observe and model fathers who are nurturant and accessible. These children will then duplicate this style of fathering with their own children (Cowan & Cowan, 1987; Snarey, 1993). The compensation paradigm suggests that children of distant, powerless, and non-nurturant fathers compensate, as adults, for the fathering they received by increasing the quantity and quality of involvement with their own children (Daly, 1993; Pruett, 1989; Radin, 1994; Snarey, 1993).

In Native American society an additional influence on father behavior, one not previously studied in relation to paternal involvement, may be the expectation of children's future leadership roles in the community. Community involvement is a value important to Native American societies (Brant, 1990) and to the Ojibwa community (Tribal Chairman, personal communication, May 4, 1990). Thus, leadership expectations may promote greater father participation in childrearing possibly because fathers make a greater investment in perceived community activities.

Several researchers have investigated the ways in which demographic indicators influence fathers' involvement in child care (Darling-Fisher, 1987; Tiedje et al., 1990). Fathers' higher education (Tiedje et al. 1990) was positively related to increased involvement in child care. Conversely, Darling-Fisher (1987) determined that fathers' education was negatively related to increased participation. In parallel studies of father involvement in child care conducted in Israel and the United States (Radin & Sagi, 1982), it was found that for the entire group of Israeli children and for the subset of boys, SES was unrelated to any of the indices of paternal participation. In the American sample, for the group as a whole and for boys, SES was negatively related to the index of paternal availability. Thus, there appears to be no clear cut pattern regarding the influence of demographic indicators on father involvement.

In view of these conceptualizations and empirical data two hypothesis were generated concerning this Ojibwa sample. These hypotheses were: (a) there is a positive relationship between the quantity of fathers' involvement in childrearing and their elementary school children's academic and social functioning; and (b) there is a positive relationship between the quality of fathers' involvement in childrearing and their elementary school children's academic and social functioning. Three additional questions were posed, ones for which the data and theories were conflicting or non-existent: a) Is there an antecedent relationship between quantity and quality of fathers' involvement and the amount of paternal involvement each parent experienced as

a child? b) Is there an antecedent relationship between quantity and quality of fathers' involvement and mothers' and fathers' expectations for their elementary school children's future leadership in the community? And, c) is there an antecedent relationship between quantity and quality of fathers' involvement and the demographic variables?

Method

Sample

The sample was obtained from families of the Bay Mills Indian Community, a reservation located on Lake Superior's Whitefish Bay near Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Eligible families included a child in Headstart through grade 5 (i.e. age 3-11). The focal child was the oldest one attending elementary school. The family unit consisted of a mother, stepmother, or live-in female significant other; father, stepfather, or live-in male significant other; closest grandfather; and focal child.

Of the 19 families that volunteered to participate, 17 were composed of a mother or stepmother, father or stepfather, and child. Two of the 19 family units reported that there was no father or stepfather in the home and were not included in this study. The response rate for the 53 eligible two-parent families living on the reservation was 33%. Difficulties in obtaining a sample among Native American populations are not uncommon and are usually a result of mistrust of the White culture and of a research tradition that has exploited Indian culture by not taking a cultural relativistic point of view (Markstrom-Adams, 1991).

From the potential adult pool of 17 two-parent families, data were collected from 29 adults (15 mothers and 14 fathers). The means and standard deviations for the sample's demographic variables are presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Mothers and fathers average education was one year of college. Of the Bay Mills Indian Community adults, 84% had at least a high school education and 56% had some college (Sobeck, 1990). Hollingshead Four-Factor Index of Social Status (1975) was used to create an Index of SES. Education which is rated on a 7-point scale, and occupation which is rated on a 9-point scale are weighted by multiplying by 3 and 5 respectively and adding the scores. If both parents are employed their totals are added and the resulting sum is divided by 2. If only one parent was working, that person's score served as the family's SES score. Computed scores can range from a high of 66 and a low of 8. According to the Index the fathers' average occupational rating was at the level of skilled manual worker and craftsman whereas the mothers' was at the level of clerical and sales worker. The overall measure of SES yielded a mean of 35.5 which places these families into class III or skilled craftsman and clerical. Thus the families were working class. Mothers worked an average of 40 hours per week at their place of employment while fathers worked an average of 38 hours per week.

The children ranged in age from 3 to 11 years (M = 8.6). A two-tailed student t-test indicated no significant differences in age between the boys (M = 8.8) and girls (M = 8.1), $t(15) = .40$. Twelve of the children were the oldest child in their sibship, 3 children were the second born, and 2 were fifth. The mean grade in school was third for both boys and girls. Since scoring for grade in school ranged from Headstart = 1 to fifth = 7, the means in the table appear as 5.1 and 4.8, respectively.

Procedure

The data collection methods included completion of a questionnaire through separate interviews with the mothers and fathers of each family. The interviewers were three Ojibwa undergraduate students enrolled in the Bay Mills Community College located on the reservation, an Ojibwa employee of the Tribal Council, and an Odawa Native American doctoral student at the University of Michigan, a co-author of this paper.

Independent Variables

Quantity. The measure used to assess the amount of father participation was the single question: "Not counting the hours the child was asleep for the night, with a sitter, or away from home, what percentage of the remaining time is father the one who must be available as a primary caregiver?" In a prior study conducted by Radin (1982b) this one question concerning time as a primary caregiver proved to be highly correlated with an overall index of paternal participation in child care which measured father participation across five dimensions of parenting: (1) overall statement of involvement; (2) participation in

socialization; (3) participation in child care; (4) influence in childrearing decisions; and (5) availability. The overall index has been found to be valid and predictive of children's social and intellectual development in studies by Radin (1982b) and Sagi (1982).

A mean was taken of mothers' and fathers' estimates of the amount of time father was involved as a primary caregiver (see Table 1). Mothers estimated that the father was the primary caregiver 30% of the time for the group and 35% for sons. Fathers estimated they were primary caregivers 31% of the time for the group and 33% for males. Mothers' and fathers' views were not significantly correlated, $r(9) = .25$. However, a two-tailed paired t-test showed the two sets of views did not differ significantly from one another, $t(9) = -.37$. The grand total estimate was 28% for the group and 32% for males. These scores are comparable to data collected in an earlier study (Radin, 1982b). Finally, the amount of time fathers spent as primary caregivers was not significantly correlated with the number of hours per week mothers were employed, $r(10) = .12$.

Quality or nurturance. To assess the quality or degree of paternal nurturance, a shortened version of the Parent Perception Inventory (PPI; Hazzard et al., 1983) was incorporated into the questionnaire. The original inventory has been shown to be both reliable and valid (Hazzard et al., 1983). The shortened inventory used in this study was a set of seven items: How often does the child's father (1) tell the child when he likes what the child did?; (2) have a good conversation with the child?; (3) let

the child help figure out problems?; (4) do things with the child that the child likes to do?; (5) say nice things to the child?; (6) help the child when the child needs it?; and (7) tell the child stories? Scoring ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (a lot). A mean was calculated of mothers' and fathers' responses. Cronbach's (1951) alpha coefficient for mothers' view was .88 and for fathers', .83. Mothers' mean response and fathers' mean response were not significantly correlated, $r(9) = .55$. However, their views did not differ significantly when a two-tailed paired t-test was employed, $t(9) = .21$. The two independent variables of quantity of paternal involvement and quality of paternal involvement were not significantly correlated, $r(16) = .14$.

Dependent Variables

The categories of dependent variables were those variables that assessed children's academic functioning and those variables that assessed children's social functioning. None of the Headstart teachers completed the rating forms appropriate for preschool children. As a result, all of the dependent variables pertain to children in grades K - 5. The means and standard deviations for all the dependent variables are reported in Table 1.

Academic functioning. One composite variable, the Academic Functioning Index, was used to measure academic competence. This Index was comprised of (a) an average of the child's mean school report card grades; (b) the mean of teacher evaluations of the child's learning in several subject areas; and (c) the teacher's overall evaluations of how much the child was learning. The first

element of the Academic Functioning Index was the school report card issued in June for the 1990-91 academic year that included grades across six marking periods. An average was taken across all these periods for each of the teacher-assigned grades in the subjects of reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Scoring ranged from 1 (conference requested) to 6 (excellent). The report card grades indicated that the children were doing well, averaging between good and excellent.

Both the second and third elements of the Academic Functioning Index were derived from the Teacher's Report Form of the Child Behavior Check List (CBCL). The CBCL is a valid and reliable standardized teacher rating form about school performance for students aged 6 to 11 years (Achenbach & Edlebrock, 1986). The subscales presented are from the 1986 edition of the Teacher's Report Form profile as this was the version mailed to us by Achenbach when the instrument was ordered. The Teacher's Report Form yields scores in the categories of adaptive functioning and problem behavior.

To determine the second element, school performance, teachers were asked to evaluate each pupil's current performance in several academic subjects using a 5-point scale. An average was taken of the mean of the primary teacher's responses and the mean of the combined responses of any assisting teachers (special education teachers, and teacher aides if these individuals were involved) for all academic subjects. The school performance score is in the adaptive functioning category. To determine the third element of the Academic Functioning Index, the teachers

were asked to compare the student to typical pupils of the same age by rating them on a 7-point scale on the characteristic of how much the child is learning. Again an average was taken of the mean of the primary teacher's responses and a mean of the combined responses of the assisting teachers. The three elements of the Academic Functioning Index were then placed on a common scale and averaged. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the Index was .93.

Social. Three variables were used to assess the children's social competence in school. Two of these variables, internalizing and externalizing, were created from the CBCL problem behavior category. The third variable assessed Native American adaptive traits. For the first two variables CBCL data were used.

The children were rated by teachers on 113 behavioral problem items on a 3-point scale. The items were then grouped under the Achenbach standardized broad band headings of internalizing and externalizing. The items in each of these two groupings were then summed and assigned normalized T-scores which were provided in the manual. A mean was taken of the primary teacher's score and the mean of the assisting teachers' scores.

The third social competence variable was based on five questions created by one of the Native American doctoral students working on the project to evaluate adaptive functioning in an Native American population. The items assessed adaptive traits not tapped by the CBCL that researchers believe are important in most Native American populations (Brant, 1990; Locust, 1988).

The child's primary and secondary teachers were asked if the student: showed a sense of responsibility to class and school; initiated new activities or ideas; could take a joke; demonstrated the ability to become a future good member of the community; and demonstrated the ability to become a future political leader in the community. The responses were scored 1 (not true); 2 (somewhat true); and 3 (very true). An average was taken of the mean of the primary teacher's responses and the mean of the combined responses of the assisting teachers to the five items. The Cronbach alpha coefficient for the scale was .93. The means and standard deviations for the total sample and the gender subgroup, which appear in Table 1, indicate that the children were at the moderate level of adaptation.

Antecedents

Predictors of paternal quantity and quality of involvement included: (1) parental views regarding the quantity and quality of their own father's participation in their family of origin; (2) parental expectations for their child's future role as community leader; and (3) demographic variables. Means and standard deviations for all the antecedent variables are presented in Table 1. To assess parents' perceptions of their own fathers' role in childrearing, mothers and fathers were asked the percentage of time their father was their primary caregiver. Two variables were created, one for mother's view of the percentage of time her father was the primary caregiver and one for father's view of the percentage of time his father was the primary caregiver. Table 1 shows that the mean for mother's view

was 28.9% for both the total group and for males. For father's view the mean was 24.3% for the total group and for males it was 22.3%. The PPI was used to assess parents' perceptions of the quality of their own fathers' nurturance. Two inventories were created, one for mother's view of her father's nurturance and one for father's view of his father's nurturance. In each case a mean was taken of the seven PPI items. Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .84 for mothers view and .78 for father's view. To assess parental expectations for their children's future roles as a community leader, mothers and fathers were asked on a 5-point scale what they thought their child's chances were of becoming a future community leader. Scoring ranged from 1 (less than most) to 5 (better than most).

Demographic information was obtained for mothers, fathers, and for each child. Variables for both parents and children included age and years of education. Parents were also asked about their occupation. The means and standard deviations for these variables were reported earlier and presented in Table 1.

The demographic variables of child's age, mother's age, father's age, and SES index were correlated with the dependent variables separately for the entire group and for boys. There were no significant correlations for the group as a whole. For boys, out of 16 correlations only two attained significance: child's age correlated significantly with the Index of Academic Functioning, r (9) = .74, $p < .05$, and with the Native American Adaptive Functioning Index, $r(9) = .72$, $p < .05$.

Analyses

Pearson product moment correlations were computed between the independent and dependent variables. Analyses were completed separately for the group as a whole and for boys. The outcome variables significantly correlated with an independent variable were then correlated with the relevant demographic variables. There was an association between the child's age and outcomes for males. Accordingly, partial correlations controlling for the child's age were computed through separate regression equations for the total sample and for boys. Partial correlations are reported in the text only when there was a substantial change in the pattern of results.

Results

Quantity of Father Participation

In Table 2 are presented the significant correlations pertaining to the quantity of father involvement for the total sample and for the subgroup of boys.

Insert Table 2 about here

For the group as a whole, there was a trend for increased amounts of father involvement to be associated with better academic functioning and better Native American adaptive functioning. With respect to boys, increased amounts of father involvement were significantly associated with better scores on the Academic Functioning Index, lower levels of internalization, and better Native American adaptive functioning. Thus, even with

age of child controlled, the greater amount of time father spent as primary caregiver, the better his son's academic and social functioning.

Quality of Father Participation

In Table 2 are also presented the significant first order correlations pertaining to the quality of father involvement for the total group and for males. For the group as a whole and for boys, paternal nurturance was significantly associated with poorer school performance as indicated by the Academic Functioning Index. For the group and for boys, paternal nurturance was significantly associated also with poorer social performance as indicated on the Native American Adaptive Functioning Index. When controlling for child's age the correlation for the entire group was $r(13) = -.53$, $p < .06$. Thus, greater paternal nurturance was associated with poorer academic and Native American social outcomes for the entire group and for boys.

Antecedents

Regarding the quantity of paternal involvement, for both the total group and for boys, fathers who reported higher community leadership expectations for their children spent a higher percentage of their time as primary caregivers. The respective correlations are for the total group, $r(13) = .73$, $p < .01$, and for boys, $r(10) = .74$, $p < .01$. Regarding the quality of paternal involvement, there were no variables associated significantly with the paternal nurturance variable. However, as mentioned earlier this variable was a mean of mother's view of

paternal nurturance and father's view of paternal nurturance. Upon examining fathers' view of paternal nurturance it was found that for the group as a whole only, fathers' experience with their own fathers nurturance was significantly associated with their report of their own nurturing behavior with their children, $r(11) = .62$, $p < .05$.

Discussion

Because of the small sample size and the exploratory nature of this study the conclusions drawn must be treated as tentative. The findings do appear to provide insights into the correlates of Ojibwa parenting styles and are suggestive of future research directions as well as interpretations of family functioning in different cultural groups.

The first hypothesis proposed that there is a positive relationship between the quantity of fathers' involvement in child rearing and their elementary school children's academic and social functioning. This hypothesis was supported almost exclusively for sons. The finding is similar to studies of mainstream populations which have indicated that the strongest relationship between fathers and children's development is between fathers and sons (Radin, 1986; Ziegler, 1980)

It is notable that a single question concerning the time fathers spent as the primary caregiver was a strong predictor of the children's school adaptation. This may be related to the fact that the economic structure of the Bay Mills Community is based on fishing and the local Casino (Tribal Chairman, personal communication, May, 4, 1990). Men sometimes spend many long

hours away from home and family. It is possible that this arrangement fostered a family social structure where the amount of time fathers spent with their children in primary caregiving was a powerful influence on their children's, particularly sons', development.

The second hypothesis proposed that there is a positive relationship between the quality of fathers' involvement in child rearing and their elementary school children's academic and social functioning. This hypothesis failed to be supported for both the entire group and for males. Moreover, there was evidence that the opposite was true as the children of more nurturant fathers appeared to be less competent in school.

There are two possible explanations for this effect. Perhaps the fathers were responding to unhappy children. These children may have had difficulties in socially adapting to a school in which approximately 60% of the students and all of the teachers were Anglo-American. Studies of Cherokee and Sioux elementary school classrooms (Dumont, 1972) and of Navajo styles of learning (John, 1972) indicate that children from tribal societies often have great difficulty working in the highly individualized and competitive atmosphere of the Anglo-American classroom. Perhaps the child's having greater difficulty in making an adaptation in the school setting elicited more nurturing behavior by his/her father. Thus, the direction of influence may have been more powerful from child to father than from father to child.

It is also conceivable that Baumrind's (1971; 1991) conceptualization of authoritative parenting, that is, high levels of responsiveness (affection) and demandingness, which leads to greater social competence in children, was not prevalent in these Native American families. With Native Americans placing great value on parental noninterference in children's lives (Brant, 1990), the level of demandingness is likely to be low. The combination of high levels of affection and low demandingness come closer to Baumrind's description of permissive parenting which does not generally lead to school success, at least in Anglo schools (Baumrind, 1991). Perhaps our results pertaining to paternal nurturance would have been different had the children been attending a school of largely Native American children and taught by Native American staff.

As to the antecedents of the quantity and quality of paternal involvement, and in keeping with Native American respect for elders (Locust, 1988), these Ojibwa fathers appeared to model their behavior with their children on that of their own fathers. There was no evidence of a compensatory pattern as had been found in some studies of fathers in the USA (Pruett, 1989; Radin & Russell, 1983). It is notable that it was the father's experiences with his own father and not the mother's experiences with her father which were the antecedents for increased paternal involvement and nurturing. Traditionally, the mother is the center of the Native American family (Coggins, 1993). Perhaps, because of its uniqueness, a close relationship in early childhood between father and son is recalled by the boy as a

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

powerful memory. Regarding parental expectations for their child's future community leadership, our data suggest that these expectations of the child may be as important as the modeling paradigm in predicting amount of paternal participation within a Native American sample.

This study indicated that, as with the mainstream population, there is a strong relationship between fathers' greater presence and his sons' better cognitive and social development. However, with respect to paternal nurturance, the opposite appears to be true for this Ojibwa sample. The outcomes highlight the importance of cultural influences on childrearing and suggest that it is not wise to generalize from white samples to other ethnic groups. Furthermore, these findings should not be generalized to other Native American tribes as their cultures are distinct from one another.

References

Achenbach, T. M., & Edlebrock, C. (1986). Manual for the Teacher's Report Form and Teacher Version of the Child Behavior Profile. Burlington, VT: University of Vermont, Department of Psychiatry.

Andersson, B. E., Kihlblom, V., & Sandqvist, K. (1993). Rising birthweight in Sweden: A consequence of the welfare state and family policy? Childhood, 1, 11-25.

Austin, A. M. B., & Braeger, T. J. (1990). Gendered differences in parents' encouragement of sibling interaction: Implications for the construction of a personal premise system. First Language, 10, 181-197.

Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and actions. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. Developmental Psychology, 4, 1-103.

Baumrind, D. (1991, April). Relation of authoritative upbringing to adolescent outcomes. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, WA.

Blanchard, R. W., & Biller, H. B. (1971) Father availability and academic performance among third-grade boys. Developmental Psychology, 4, 301-315.

Brant, C. (1990). Native ethics and rules of behavior. Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 32, 1385-1391.

Coggins, K. (1993). Parents' traditional beliefs and their children's school performance in Native American families. Unpublished research internship report. School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Cowan, C. P., & Cowan, P. A. (1987). Men's involvement in parenthood. In P. W. Berman & F. A. Pederson (Eds.), Men's transition to parenthood. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cronbach, L. J. (1951). Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests. Psychometrika, 16, 297-334.

Daly, K. (1993). Reshaping fatherhood: Finding the models. Journal of Family Issues, 14, 510-530.

Darling-Fisher, C. (1987). The relationship between mothers' and fathers' Eriksonian psychosocial attributes, perceptions of family support, and adaptation to parenthood. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Dumont, R. V. Jr. (1972). Learning English and how to be silent: Studies in Sioux and Cherokee classrooms. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John, & D. Hymes (Eds.), Functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press.

Forehand, R., & Nousiainen, S. (1993). Maternal and paternal parenting: Critical dimensions in adolescent functioning. Journal of Family Psychology, 7, 213-221.

Gottfried, A. E., Gottfried, A. W., & Bathurst, K. (1988). Maternal employment, family environment, and children's development: Infancy through the school years. In A. E. Gottfried & A. W. Gottfried (Eds.), Maternal employment and children's development: Longitudinal research. New York: Plenum.

Hazzard, A., Christiansen, A., & Margolin, G. (1983). Children's perceptions of parental behaviors. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 2, 49-60.

Hoffman, L. W. (1989). Effects of maternal employment in the two-parent family. American Psychologist, 44, 283-292.

Hollingshead, A. B. (1975). Four-factor index of social status. Available from the Department of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520.

John, V. P. (1972). Styles of learning-styles of teaching: Reflections on the education of Navajo children. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John, & D. Hymes (Eds.), Functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press.

Kromelow, S., Harding, C., & Touris, M. (1990). The role of father in the development of stranger sociability during the second year. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 60, 521-530.

Locust, C. (1988). Wounding the spirit: Discrimination and traditional Native American belief systems. Harvard Educational Review, 58, 315-330.

Markstrom-Adams, C. (1991, April). Issues related to the design of research, data collection, and data interpretation among North American Indians. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, WA.

Murray, A., & Sandqvist, K. (1990). Father absence and children's achievement from age 13 to 21. Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 34, 3-28.

Nietfeldt, C. L. (1984). Parental and child correlates of preschool boys' social competence. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1984). Dissertation Abstracts International, 45(7-B), 04:04.

Parke, R., & Swain, D. (1975, April). Infant characteristics and behavior as elicitors of maternal and paternal responsiveness in the newborn period. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Denver, CO.

Pruett, K. C. (1989). The nurturing male. In S. H. Cath, A. Gurwitt, & L. Gunsberg (Eds.), Fathers and their families. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.

Pruett, K. C., & Litzenberger, B., (1992). Latency development in children of primary nurturing fathers: Eight-year follow-up. The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 47, 85-101.

Radin, N. (1981). Childrearing fathers in intact families, I: Some antecedents and consequences. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 27, 489-514.

Radin, N. (1982a). The unique contribution of parents to childrearing: The preschool years. In S. G. Moore & C. R. Cooper (Eds.), The young child: Reviews of research, Vol. 3. Washington DC: National Association for Young Children.

Radin, N. (1982b). Primary caregiving and rolesharing fathers. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), Nontraditional families: Parenting and child development. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Radin, N. (1986). The influence of fathers upon sons and daughters and implications for school social work. Social Work in Eduction, 8, 77-91.

Radin, N. (1994). Primary caregiving fathers in intact families. In A. Gottfried & A. Gottfried (Eds.), Redefining families. New York: Plenum Press.

Radin, N., & Russell, G. (1983). Increased paternal participation and childhood outcomes. In M. E. Lamb & A. Sagi (Eds.), Fatherhood and family policy. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Radin, N., & Sagi, S. (1982). Childrearing fathers in intact families, II: Israel and the USA. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 28, 111-136.

Sagi, A. (1982). Antecedents and consequences of various degrees of paternal involvement in child-rearing: The Israeli Project. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), Nontraditional families: Parenting and child development. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Snarey, J. (1993). How fathers care for the next generation: A four-decade study. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sobeck, J. L. (1990). Lifestyle and Behavior Risk Factors of Health: A Report on a Mail Survey Conducted in the Bay Mills Indian Community. Detroit, MI: Department of Community Medicine, Wayne State University.

Tiedje, L. B., Wortman, C. B., Downey, G., Emmons, C., Biernat, M, & Lang, E. (1990). Women with multiple roles: Role compatibility perceptions, satisfaction, and mental health. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52, 63-72.

Ziegler, M. E. (1980). The father's influence on his school-age child's development. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1979). Dissertation Abstracts International, 40(10-B), 5041.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Demographic, Independent, Dependent, and Antecedent Variables for the Entire Group and for Boys and Girls

Variable	Total Group			Boys			Girls		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Demographic variables									
Child age	17	8.6	2.9	12	8.8	2.9	5	8.1	3.3
Child grade[a]	17	5.0	2.7	12	5.1	2.7	5	4.8	3.1
M age	15	34.1	6.9	10	35.2	7.3	5	32.0	6.4
F age	14	33.7	7.7	11	35.5	7.1	3	27.0	7.4
M years of education	15	12.9	1.9	10	13.5	1.9	5	11.8	1.3
F years of education	14	13.1	1.3	11	13.1	1.4	3	13.0	1.0
M occupation[b]	11	5.6	1.1	8	5.6	1.3	3	5.3	0.6
F occupation[b]	12	4.0	2.0	9	4.0	2.2	3	4.0	1.0
Index of SES[c]	17	35.1	11.8	12	38.2	12.2	5	27.9	10.8
Hrs/week M employed	11	40.3	3.0	8	40.4	3.5	3	40.0	0.0

(table cont.)

Table 1 (Continued)

Variable	Total Group N	M	SD	Boys N	M	SD	Girls N	M	SD
Hrs/week F employed	12	37.7	14.0	10	37.2	15.4	2	40.0	0.0
Independent variables									
Quantity									
Total time F is primary caregiver	17	27.9	17.0	12	32.2	15.8	5	17.5	16.7
Quality									
Total F nurturance	17	4.1	0.6	12	4.2	0.6	5	3.7	0.8
Dependent variables for academic functioning									
Academic functioning index[1]	16	145.9	30.1	11	140.7	33.3	5	157.3	19.8
Dependent variables for social functioning									
CBCL internalizing	15	52.5	6.6	11	53.9	7.3	4	48.9	2.2
CBCL externalizing	15	52.0	5.8	11	52.9	5.7	4	49.4	5.8
Native American Adaptive									

(table cont.)

Table 1 (Continued)

Variable	Total Group N	Total Group M	Total Group SD	Boys N	Boys M	Boys SD	Girls N	Girls M	Girls SD
Functioning Index	16	1.9	0.6	11	1.8	0.6	5	2.3	0.6
Antecedent variables									
% time parent's father was primary caregiver									
M response	14	28.9	18.4	9	28.9	18.0	5	29.0	21.3
F response	14	24.3	14.0	11	22.3	13.5	3	31.7	16.1
PPI for family of origin									
M response	12	3.6	0.7	9	3.5	0.8	3	4.0	0.2
F response	12	3.6	0.6	9	3.7	0.7	3	3.3	0.5
Child as future community leader									
M responses	15	3.5	0.7	10	3.7	0.5	5	3.0	0.7
F responses	14	3.9	0.9	11	3.9	0.9	3	3.7	0.6

Note. M = mother; F = father; CBCL = Achenbach's Child Behavior Check List; PPI = Parent

(table cont.)

Table 1 (Continued)

Perception Inventory; SES = socio-economic status.

[a]Scoring for grade in school ranged from Headstart = 1 to fifth = 7. [b]Hollingshead's (1975) Four-Factor Index of Social Status. A rating of 4 includes skilled manual workers and craftsmen; a rating of 5 includes clerical and sales workers. [c]Range of the scale was from 30 to 210.

Table 2

Correlations Between Independent And Dependent Variables For Total Group And For Boys

	Quantity		Quality	
	n	r	n	r
Academic functioning				
AFI total group	14	.48+	14	-.58*
AFI boys	10	.66*	10	-.66*
Social functioning				
CBCL internalization, total group	13	-.46	13	.35
CBCL internalization, boys	10	-.77**	10	.39
CBCL externalization, total group	13	-.16	13	.20
CBCL externalization, boys	10	-.47	10	-.07
Native American AF, total group	14	.48+	14	-.54*
Native American AF, boys	10	.65*	10	-.69*

Note. Independent variable = total % time father is the primary caregiver; AFI = Academic Functioning Index; CBCL = Child Behavior Check List; AF = adaptive functioning.

+$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$, all levels two-tailed.